

COMITÉ ESPAÑOL DE LA UNIÓN GEOGRÁFICA
INTERNACIONAL

VIVIR LA DIVERSIDAD EN ESPAÑA

Aportación Española al XXIX Congreso
de la Unión Geográfica Internacional

Seúl'2000



Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles



OBRA SOCIAL Y CULTURAL



Real Sociedad Geográfica

INTERNATIONAL GEOGRAPHICAL UNION,
SPANISH COMMITTEE

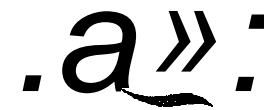
LIVING WITH DIVERSITY

XXIX IGU Congress: Seoul 2000,
Spanish Contribution

Seúl'2000



Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles



OBRA SOCIAL Y CULTURAL



Real Sociedad Geográfica

Contents

	Pages
Preface	377
Introduction	379

Section A

NATURAL DIVERSITY: MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGES AND PROCESSES

Usage of the geographical systems of information for the measurement of biodiversity in mountainous areas. Fernando Allende Alvare:	389
Biodiversity implications in rural areas. María Asunción Martín Lou, Darío Bolívar Moreno. María José Lozano de San Cielo.....	401
The pluviometric diversity of Spain. Javier Martín-vide	415
Application of geographic information systems to the management and conservation of protected areas. Javier Martínez Vega. Raúl Romero Ca/cerrada, Juan Antonio García González, Patricio Corrochano Turón. Pilar Martín Isabel.....	425
Human uses and biological diversity. Concepción Sanz Herráiz, Nieves López Estébanez:	439

Section B

TOWARDS A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Solidarity and Citizenship: Immigrants in Spain Today. Juan A. Cebrián, María Isabel Bodega	461
Recent return of Spanish immigrants, Julio Hernández Borge	477
Spanish immigrant migration situation and trends at late 20th century. Vicente González Pérez	487
Diversity and integration of foreign immigration in Spain. Lorenzo López Trigal	499
Living in Spain: European retired on the Spanish coasts. Vicente Rodríguez Rodríguez.....	513
Dominican migration to Spain: conditions, evolution and development. Juan Manuel Romero Valiente.....	527

Section e

INTRA AND INTERREGIONAL DYNAMICS

The differential fact in the Spanish state: a geographical study from the periphery, <i>Rubén C. Lois González, Luis A. Escudero Gámez, Carlos Valcárcel Ri'eiro</i>	545
Democracy and territory. The planning of the land in E. C. regional Spain. <i>Enrique Clemente Cubillas</i>	565
Territorial arrangement Spanish experience in regional scope. Methodological analysis of the planning documents. <i>Alfonso Fernández Tabares, Enrique Santos Pavón. Francisca Jasé Torres Gutiérrez</i>	577
The geographers and the Spanish political regionalization (XIX th and XX th centuries). <i>Jacobo García Álvarez, Josefina Gómez Mendaza. Rafael Vtata Olm</i>	595
Impact of the bordering effect in the constitution of new industrial areas. <i>Ricarda Méndez</i>	607
Problems and trends in water management within the framework of autonomous organization of Spanish State. <i>Leandro del Moral</i>	617
Territorial organization of Spain: from the centralized state to autonomous regions. Reflections after two decades in course. <i>José M.^a Serrano, Varille</i>	637
The diversity in the geographic bibliography on Spain – an approach to the period 1990-2000. <i>Manuel Vatenzueta Rubia</i>	653

LIVING IN SPAIN: EUROPEAN RETIRED ON THE SPANISH COASTS ¹

VICENTE RODRÍGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ

Scientific Researcher; Institute of Economy and Geography (CSIC)

e-mail: rodri@ieg.csic.es

Moving to Spain for some European retired, to live temporarily or permanently, is a clear example of a model of geographical mobility of the population that generally happens when they exit the labor market. This is a movement with a great tradition in the United States or Australia. In the European ambir, this phenomenon has been called «international migration of retired» where Spain has been the main destination. This is a relatively new phenomenon although it is gaining importance, not so much for its numerical values but because of its influence in local ambits.

It is possible that the migration of retired toward Spain may not be only a numerical question, even though along with the analysis of demographic and economic features is the most important aspect from a geographical and social point of view. The motivation to move or the consequences that this has in the areas of origin and destination are left in a secondary position.

As it happens with this phenomenon in other spaces, there are some difficulties to define and measure the retired migrants as it has been verified by some authors attending to diverse criteria: (Gober and Zonn, 1983; Sullivan, 1985; Edge, 1990a; Daciuk and Marshall, 1991; Kolbe, 1992; Wames, 1994; OR' Reilly, 1995; McHugh *et al.*, 1995; Hazelrigg and Hardy, 1995; Berty and Cahill, 1996; Williams *et al.*, 1997; King *et al.*, 1998; Rodríguez *et al.*, 1998a). The mobility of the retired is selective, and it is not conditioned either by the labor schedule, by family obligations or by economic resources. Many times this gives rise to «a continuity» of flexible situations (seasonal migrants, owners of second residences, renters, tourists of long stay, permanent residents, non-registered residents, ...) of not easy definition.

The essential objective of this article is the analysis of the interactions that the retired Europeans are creating in their relations with the space and with the Spanish society, especially the political, social, and economic consequences, from a lack of existing data, that permits the study of the diversity of social behaviors in local precincts, especially in the Costa del Sol. There are some elements that play a role in the biggest or smaller adap-

¹ This paper was done partially with the information obtained from the research project «European retired immigrants in Andalucía» (CICYT SEC95-0(20) and from papers done in the ESP Exploratory Workshop «European dimensions on changing retirement», 1999.

taryn (is it better to say integration") of the Europeans to the Spanish society. The permanence of this situation in the future will permit to have the adequate elements for a social policy oriented to the installment of services that will benefit the local senior population as well as the foreign. This paper will be completed with a brief analysis of the demographic features of the Europeans retired.

1. THE BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE AND GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

The measurement of the retired immigrants in Europe is a difficult task because there does not exist a standard concept to be referred to, neither a migrant type in which to fit the diversity generated by this population that have exit the labor force and have all the free time of their total disposition. On the other hand, the European countries do not have a common method to obtain the information on the migrant movements, neither the legal concepts are used in the same way (for example, place of birth, place of origin, nationality) (Williams *et al.*, 1997; King *et al.*, 1998; Rodríguez *et al.*, 1998a). Moreover, the individuals do not assume to be migrants within the common European space, where they are citizens.

In the Spanish case the situation tends to be more complicated from the moment that there are diverse agencies that have the assignment of counting foreign immigrants and whose procedures of counting are carried out according to their own criteria. The National Institute of Statistics produces the Census and the Padrón, as documents of general recount of the population to obtain data on stocks of immigrants, and the Statistic of Residential variations, that measures the population that flow (arrives at) to any Spanish municipality each year. On the other hand, the Department of Interior offers figures of the petitioners of the card and the permission of residence. (Rodríguez, 2000).

All these facts affect in a certain inaccuracy of the official data, that hinders clearly the knowledge of the number of foreign immigrants that arrive (or have arrived) to reside in Spain. The probe of such subregister is in multiple observations that, at a local scale, have been done, trying to show the discrepancies, sometimes very important ones, between the official figures and the foreign residents that in fact are there (Look further on).

Therefore, and because of lack of more exact data, the information supplied by the official sources permit an approximation of the foreign senior population in Spain. Two phenomena characterize the senior foreigners in Spain: according to the official sources, the concentration of nationalities and their spatial location and the aging that they generate at a municipal scale.

In 1996 there were in Spain more than 113,000 residents over 55 years old, that represented 21% of the total of foreigners, a lower value of the Spaniards of the same age (26%). Three out of four originated in countries of the European Union, reaching values over 85% in the provinces of greater implantation of this type of residents, such as Almería, Málaga, Balears, Tenerife or Alicante (Table 1). There is not a clear tendency in the distribution by sexes, although it seems that men predominated. British and Germans are the nationalities that stand out attending to the distribution by nationality, the former more in Andalucía (Almería, Cádiz, Granada and Málaga), Murcia and Alicante, while the latter are located more in the Islas Baleares and Canarias. The French, in third place, tend to settle in nearby provinces to the border (Girona, above all). The foreigners originating in other countries are less numerous and their presence is less important at the local scale.

Taking now at a greater scale, the municipal level, in Málaga, Alicante and the Islas Baleares do exist a group of municipalities whose foreign resident population represents currently values over 10% of the native population (far above the Spaniard average, 1%). Taking into considering the senior population, the figures are still more significant: there is an aging of the municipal population as consequence of the arrival of foreign senior residents. While the population over 65 years in Alicante is of 15%, among the European

TABLE I
FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SPANISH PROVINCES IN 1996

Regions	Foreigners			Residents of main European countries of origin (% people over 55)				
	> 55 (%) (1)	> 65 (%) (1)	% Males > 65	1 ST	2 ND	3 RD	4 TH	5 TH
Andalusia								
Almería	1.597	816	55,1	UK	Germany	France	Belgium	Netherl.
		83,6	85,9	63,1	15,5	10,1	3,2	3,1
Cádiz	772	423	49,6	UK	Germany	France	Italy	Portugal
		65,1	68,2	58,8	13,1	7,1	6,5	5,1
Granada	357	165	47,3	UK	Germany	France	Belgium	Italy
		64,4	60,2	28,0	24,6	13,7	11,8	8,1
Málaga	17.746	10.326	51,7	UK	Germany	Denmark	Sweden	Netherl.
		86,5	86,8	47,9	17,6	7,4	5,9	5,4
Balearic Is.								
Balearic Islands	7.129	3.760	48,8	Germany	UK	France	Belgium	Netherl.
		85,7	85,8	35,6	35,0	12,2	4,5	3,6
Canary Is.								
Palmas, Las	2.257	1.094	54,0	Germany	UK	Finland	Sweden	Italy
		67,8	68,5	38,9	21,8	8,0	7,0	5,4
Tenerife	4.987	2.376	55,1	Germany	UK	Italy	Belgium	France
		85,2	84,7	41,9	40,0	3,9	3,6	2,2
Cataluña								
Barcelona	3.481	1.990	43,6	Germany	France	Italy	UK	Portugal
		53,0	56,9	27,3	24,1	22,3	8,8	5,6
Girona	1.954	1.122	51,2	France	Germany	UK	Netherl.	Belgium
		72,3	76,4	30,0	20,1	16,1	13,9	10,3
Tarragona	1.074	594	50,0	Germany	France	Belgium	UK	Italy
		68,5	71,1	31,0	25,7	14,1	8,9	8,2
Murcia								
Murcia	617	321	51,4	UK	Germany	France	Italy	Belgium
		71,4	74,8	31,6	24,0	19,4	6,5	6,5
C. Valenciana								
Alicante	30.764	18.229	52,8	UK	Germany	Netherl.	Belgium	France
		84,6	84,1	45,3	22,1	10,6	7,9	6,2
Castellón	806	470	48,1	France	Germany	UK	Italy	Belgium
		75,3	77,4	28,1	23,3	16,5	7,7	6,8
Valencia	1.478	855	50,0	France	UK	Germany	Italy	Belgium
		69,4	70,1	34,5	25,0	16,3	8,9	6,4
Spain	113.719	64.227	49,6	UK	Germany	France	Netherl.	Belgium
		(21,3)	(12,0)	(27,4)	(17,2)	(7,5)	(4,9)	(4,2)

Source: INE. Padrón Municipal de Habitantes, 1996.

(1) Percentage of the Europeans over 55 or 65 and over foreigners.

residents reaches 34%, in Málaga these values are 13 and 26%. This process is still more acute in specific municipalities of Alicante and Málaga where already the foreign population, in general, represents more than 30% of the Spanish population.

The tendency towards a greater presence of foreigners and towards a greater aging associated does not seem mal is going to change in the future. The environmental conditions, the economic situation and the style of life are three factors that attract the foreigners to live in Spain, permanently or temporarily (Rodríguez *et al.*: 1998b).

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

The Europeans retired in Spain have the socio-economic conditions that permit to develop an appreciable economic influence in certain local ambits. However, it is not always easy to measure its impact because of difficulties in obtaining objective data imputable to the activity of the retired as a social group. Due to that difficulty it is inevitable to use other sources, qualitatives in many cases, to carry out this analysis.

2.1. A General Vision

First of all, it is important to talk about the *standard of living* associated to their economic capacity. The seniors that move seek out, among other aspects, to make profitable their economic level (monetary and patrimonial), obtained throughout their laborallife, in other spaces in which the standard of living is not so high. In an indirect way it is inferred that a greater professional and educational level of the immigrants implies a superior economic power to that of the native population, what for the Spanish case has been verified in diverse studies (Wasworth, 1992; Rodríguez *et al.*, 1998a), but also in Europe (Law and Wames, 1980; Law and Wames, 1982; Williams and Patterson, 1998). This relation should suppose the *transference of economic resources* that, in the American² precinct, has been quantified approximately employing econometric methodology (Hodge, 1991; Sastry, 1992; Deller, 1995). The proof is that once located in Spain, it has been generated around the retired a financial structure oriented to the canalization of the monetary resources, in which intervene, in the British case for example, not only the Spaniard banking companies, but also British branches of banks (Royal Bank of Scotland, Abbey National Offshore, Lloyds Bank International), of businesses of investment or of funds (Henry Woods, Scousish-Life International, Anglo-Scandinavian). However, this activity traditionally offers a lack of information to advance more in the economic influence of the retired.

It seems that there are not many doubts in admitting, in the second place, that the retired that migrate takes along an increase, sometimes considerable, in the *consumption of products*. In this way, «The immigration of the old retired has a great capacity to influence on the external demand in the regional economy» (Sastry, 1992:62). Although there are diverse examples in the diversity of the expenses of consumption among the retired migrants, in the Spanish case there are only few studies on the Costa del Sol that permit to point out toward bars and restaurants, travel agencies, rental car agencies or commercial establishments, located in the large urban centers, as the main goods of consumption, activity managed by foreigners (Barke and France, 1996), besides the housing as it will be seen further on. From a more specific point of view, Eaton has analyzed the suppliers of services to the expatriate in the Costa del Sol to discover that «They are males, of medium age, British, that have been in Spain for 6 years working in activities combined of bars, cafeterías and restaurants» (Eaton, 1995:256), that rarely employ Spaniards and that have an elementary level of Spanish. Their satisfaction with their business developed in Spain is noticeable.

² I think that you should clarify that you are referring to the United States of America.

From a more general perspective, it is confirmed that in all the coastal Spanish regions there is a high representation of businesses governed by foreigners and oriented towards a more specific consumption; more than 10% of the commercial establishments in Canarias are run by foreigners. The percentage is somewhat lower, but also notable, in Málaga, Baleares and Alicante, according to information provided by the Chambers of Commerce. The commercial sector represents more than half of the businesses in general, percentage that reaches 80% of industrial activities managed by foreigners in these provinces. Such data are expressive of the quantitative importance of their presence.

Throughout advertisements inserted in some of the *periodical publications*, not in Spanish, of greater diffusion in the Costa del Sol the commercial and consumption activities are reflected. They stand out over other advertisements that are referred to the real estate market and specifically to the real estate transactions between companies and individuals but above all between individuals (sales, purchases and rent of properties), but also the necessary financial services to carry out the real estate operations, the equipment and maintenance of the housing. In the second place the advertisements of essential services stand out for the life of the foreign resident, retired or not, which are the health services, offered by private clinics and doctors, generally foreigners, for the care of specific problems of health (hearing and vision, fractures or heart). In general, they offer general combined services, covered by insurance companies. In the third place, it would be found all those activities of consumption oriented to the enjoyment of the free time, such as rental car, travel and excursions agencies, or the advertisements of spaces and services of free time (golf courses and hotels), or restaurants and bars. Finally, it is also very notable the presence of advertisement of individual professional services related to the sale of cars, phone and communication businesses, job offers and of business, etc.

2.2. Economic importance of the housing

As it has been indicated previously, the *housing market* is the main point to evaluate the impact that the retired residents have on the coasts. It is measured through the enormous development of a specific model of planning implantation (residential areas) and the social and cultural effects that such way of life creates. Housing is one of the essential factors on the attraction of the senior migrants, associated with the residential preferences of the senior population (Wames and Ford, 1995). Specially when they are already owners of a house in the area of destination (Kallan, 1993), and with pretensions of making a profit of their investment (Stellones and Hogan, 1992). The economic result is a generation of an ample demand of types of housing adequate to the migrants (DeUer, 1995), according to diverse strategies of occupation (renters and owners) (Kolbe, 1992). Also, from a personal point of view, differentiated behaviors are produced in their use in agreement with the familiar and individual cycle of life (McHugh and Mings, 1996). In Europe, the situation does not differ essentially referring to the demand of housing (Wames, 1994; Williams *et al.*, 1997; Kiog *et al.*, 1998).

The real estate economy around the foreign retired is, without a doubt, the more active activity in the Costa del Sol and the residential areas are their focus of characteristic implantation. There are three ways of approaching this phenomenon: one is the one offered by the retired, the housing as a personal option (not considered in this paper). Another is the one that is extracted from information about the objective meaning of real estate market; the third is offered by the periodical publications. The importance of the foreign investment in real estate is appreciated in Table 2.

In the three last years have been invested in Spain more than 200,000 million of pesetas (approximately £800 million) in real estate by foreigners (although it is estimated that

³ They are urban units of residential tourism and they are characterized for not having many links with the municipal nucleus; they come from real promoters, foreigners in many cases, they are occupied by housing owners, mainly foreigners, the houses are built mainly horizontal (Jurdao, 1988).

TABLE 2
FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN REAL ESTATE (Millions of pesetas)

	1994	1995	1996
ANDALUCIA	14,047	19,706	19,967
Málaga	7,314	9,888	11,688
BALEARES	55,647	50,151	54,569
Calviá	20,496		
Andraitx	5,433		
Sta. Eulalia	1,634		
CANARIAS	28,541	50,042	28,491
Las Palmas	14,170	17,046	13,051
Mogán	5,001		
San Bartolomé	3,970		
Teorife	1,071	32,996	15,434
CATALUÑA	41,868	34,931	32,546
Barcelona	23,056	9,155	6,423
Sabadell	10,009		
El Prat	4,626		
Girona	12,441	18,122	18,133
C. VALENCIANA	38,829	49,177	60,177
Alicante	31,931	41,681	52,469
Denia	5,544		
Calpe	3,653		
Total	200,911	233,965	220,06

Fuente: Ministerio de Economía. Registro de Inversiones Extranjeras en Inmuebles.

the values can be much higher); of those, near 90% are concentrated in the 5 regions with the greatest touristic development and specially, besides the islands, in Barcelona, Girona, Alicante and Málaga. This concentration is also produced in some municipalities of each province, such as Calviá and Andraitx in Mallorca, Calpe and Denia, in Alicante, where investments from the United Kingdom, Germany and Switzerland are received. In Málaga, the municipalities of Marbella, Estepona and Mijas made up 70% of the foreign investment in real estate of the province. Of the 4,375 declarations of investments in municipalities of Málaga, 27% are concentrated in Marbella, having percentages over 10% Mijas, Estepona, Benalmádena and Torremolinos, 57% of these declarations come from British investors. The British investments reach 72% in Mijas and the 69% in Estepona.

Between the 60's and the 90's have been built in the Costa del Sol the majority of the residential areas (Mellado, 1990), with a territorial model differentiated between Torremolinos and Benalmádena, where constructions in height predominate (apartments), and Marbella, in horizontal (Barke and Frence, 1996). They give direct employment to thousands of persons, besides the jobs carried out in the construction, everything generates an important flow of investments in real estate and, as a consequence, of expenses of stay of its owners, of maintenance and taxes upon the dwellings.

As a result of an investigation upon 158 residential areas, carried out in 1990, it has been able to verify that a «lineal city» has been created along the Costa as a continuation of the city of Málaga, that tends to be extended toward spaces away from the line of the coast, as has also happened on the coast of Alicante (Edge *et al.*, 1990; Montiel, 1990). The residential areas have contributed to develop the residential tourism, centered in an offer of green spaces with gardens, scarce volumes of residential areas and multiple services available, specially for sports. They have been designed following some models that tend to reflect constructions integrated in the surrounding, with predominance of the Me-

diterranean and Andalusian style. «not only for their approach to the local type but also for their recognition of their landscape qualities and adaptation to the climate» (Mellado, 1990: 13). They are residential areas of large size (500,000 m² average of built surface), although more than 50% are of small size, and more than three quarters of the total built surface is concentrated in the 21 residential areas of greater size.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the residential areas is its high equipment: slightly more than a 13% of the residential areas count with associated golf courses, what represents the highest standard of residential quality, but almost 50% have tennis courts and 80% have swimming pools. On the other hand, almost two thirds of the residential areas count among their installations with commercial centers, bars or restaurants, and in four out of ten exist also meeting and social clubs.

British and Spanish are the national groups that more intense presence have in the residential areas of the Costa del Sol (two thirds), followed by Scandinavians and Germans, that tend to reside in residential areas where there are other groups, where they are a minority. In the third place, lead by French and Belgians, there are national groups not exclusively Europeans, with scarce quantitative value (Table 2).

In this way, with this multiplicity of examples, the Costa del Sol has been configured as a cosmopolitan place, where English is practically the second language spoken, after Spanish. The European retired tends to live in residential areas where the majority of the residents have the same nationality, with a logical predominance of British.

In second place is the debate about housing. The promoters, builders, financial societies, etc. participate in the market through expositions that take place in cities of those countries whose nationals have a greater presence in the Costa del Sol (London, Manchester, Frankfurt, Dublin) with their real estate offerings to an international scale, especially in zones of amusement, although essentially European (Costa del Sol, Costa Blanca, Costa Brava, Costa del Azahar, Canarias, Baleares, Portugal, Costa Azul, Greece, Chipre, Malta). Also implied in the market are the associations of builders and promoters (Asociación Provincial de Promotores y Constructores, Provincial Association of Promoters and Builders, Federación Andaluza de Urbanizaciones y Turismo Residencial, Andalusian Confederacy of Residential and Tourism Areas) and companies of services and law offices (Comish, Arthur Andersen), periodically offering reports on the Spanish real estate market oriented to the advice on the administrative procedures to purchase a house, on the legal figures that intervene in the Spanish real estate market and on the planning at the municipal scale in Spain.

Other reports analyze aspects of housing market with the purpose of maintaining the interest of the potential clients offering data on the importance of the residential tourism

TABLE 3

Nationality	Mainly	%	In minority	%
British	67	55,4	21	17,4
Spanish	29	24,0	49	40,5
Scandinavian	10	8,3	36	29,8
German	10	8,3	20	16,5
Italian	2	1,6	1	0,8
Finnish		0,8	6	5,0
Dutch		0,8	6	5,0
French, Belgian			17	14,0
American			8	6,6
Arab			7	5,8
Swiss			2	1,6
Other		0,8		0,8
Total	121		121	

in the Costa del Sol (structure of the real estate market and their prices). The evolution of the market in relation with the economic and financial ups and downs of their countries and populations (exchange rate tendency of the mortgage interests), second hand housing market, tendency of the market towards high quality housing or the economic meaning of the economical activity that moves around the real estate market.

Other types of reports are located in the place of origin, the United Kingdom, with the goal of providing information for the selection of the place and type of house for the retired in the Mediterranean Coast (Stodel and Baker, 1989). The main conclusions mark some essential aspects that all houses and residential areas must have for these types of people, such as:

- Knowledge in situ of the house as the common process to buy in Spain.
- Maintenance of the house in the United Kingdom to leave open the eventual return.
- Search for residential areas with specific equipment for senior citizens.
- Preference for one-storey houses.
- Convenience of living in residential areas with people from your own country.
- Possibility of buying houses of medium or high prices.
- Difficulty of selling a house in Spain if they want to return to their country.

Other reports done in Spain emphasized the difficulties that the residents face to see that their rights as consumers are respected especially the lack of control on the processes of urban planning in the City Halls, or the lack of official information on questions about fiscal and municipal taxes.

3. A SOCIAL MARK

Contrary to other influences, the social types are not related with any factor that they had considered before arriving to Spain. They are conscious of their influence, of the need of organizing their ways of contact and of their capacity of transposing to Spain the social aspects of their way of life. That is specially appreciable several years after they have arrived to the zone when already exists an adequate critical mass to channel, some times spontaneously, other times organized, and their initiatives.

One of the most genuine aspects of the presence of retired Europeans in Spain is that of the associations. The retired European immigrants, by tradition and culture, have a more determined attitude to participate in cultural activities giving answers to a necessity. Because of this, the international community has unfolded, like the «Spanish branches», an ample representation of clubs and diverse religious associations, standing out those of British origin due to the biggest relative presence of this group in Spain. They offer an extensive cultural offer: music, literature, fine arts, theatre, sports, and trips ... (Myldeboest, 1989), acting like a point of reception and encounter, facilitating the meeting with persons originating in the same country or from other countries. It could be disputed if the associations were created by the foreigners «to protect their identity and to isolate themselves from the Spanish community creating exclusive clubs» (Beuy and Cahill, 1996) and they provide a setting in which they can develop supportive comforting friendship (Betty, 1997).

For example, in the Costa del Sol appear documented more than 60 religious services, belonging to diverse confessions of faith, although for its number the Protestants stand out as corresponds to the religious extraction of the majority of the retired residents. The large populations as Fuengirola and Marbella concentrate the majority of those. Also there are approximately 80 of diverse dedication, from the most traditional and of general character, to the most specific of smallest field of influence, such as the music, dance, sport, cards, political. According to Mullan (1993) there are two large types of associations: on one hand, the ones related to the military forces, and on the other hand, social

groups of support, including the religious ones (Lux Mundi) or of territorial implantation (Help, in the White Coast, OASIS and Lifeline in Mallorca). According to the information contributed by themselves in their advertisements, they are mainly managed by foreign residents and they tend to admit all kinds of associates, independently of their nationality or situation. To that it contributes that the quorums of participation are really low. They meet in public places, many times in bars or restaurants, other times in municipal offices that are shared with other services of the town, mainly once a week and especially in autumn and winter (Rodríguez *et al.*, 1998b).

Some stand out such as Royal British Legion, The International Club, Rotary Club and above all CUDECA, whose social activities and campaigns are always directed to obtain funds to finance the care of patients of cancer; counting with the positive support of the city halls. Other associations (Link-Line or Help) have an assistential function to the elders. Some authors state that they have given so much power that they have acquired a negotiating capacity with the Spanish authorities (Beny, 1997b).

Another essential aspect of the presence of retired Europeans in Spain are the initiatives developed by the municipalities to attend the residents retired in areas where their presence is great. There are Departments of Foreigners in municipalities, such as Mijas, Calviá and Alfaz del Pi (Balao, 1994), with a great tradition in the attention of foreign residents, but also in other municipalities (Benalmádena, Fuengirola and Estepona in the Costa del Sol). All of them are good examples of the interest in the integration of the foreigners in these municipalities of a large population.

The Departments of Foreigners have been created in different moments according to the needs of the persons, and, above all, with the interest of the municipalities implied. They intend to promote the contacts of the foreign resident population with the municipality, eliminating the barriers that the political systems, the social inertia and the cultural differences tend to impose. Usually Spanish or foreigners that speak various languages direct them and there are consultations about the census, of the sanitary services, of the attainment of the retired card and of the offer of social and cultural activities.

The Foreign Department of Mijas has passed of approximately 3000 annual consultations in 1987 to 3600 monthly in 1996. Most of them are questions of general information, obtaining of «papers», of fiscal matter and of the Social Security, that is to say, administrative consultations related to the stay of the residents in the municipality. In all the cases, the nationalities of the foreigners that consult reflect the foreign composition of population that exists in the municipalities, standing out British, German, Finnish, Dutch, Belgian, and Danish.

The articulation of its activities has taken to the design of a politics of edition in diverse languages and small free pamphlets upon themes of its interest. For example some of the informative pamphlets published by the Department of Foreigners of Mijas, generally in English are:

Mijas News: a pamphlet with information on cultural activities, conferences, excursions, services of interpreters of the City Hall, of the dates of payment of the municipal taxes. They are completed with directions of the main municipal services in diverse residential areas.

Answers to questions upon the sanitary service of the Social Security, of the municipal social services, of the medical urgencies and of the procedures in case of death and subsequent actions.

Answers about the maintenance of pets in Spain as a very important aspect in the available time of the retired.

- Answers to questions upon property (purchases and sales, taxes, inheritance and wills, seizures and auctions).

Inside that vision of integration of the retired in the municipal life, is interesting to emphasize the initiative developed by the city hall of Fuengirola, in the Costa del Sol, to create a Consultative Committee of Foreigners in the municipality whose purpose is the

channeling inroads and demands of the residents of each nationality and to support the most adequate policies to their interests. For such effect, and under the control of the Department of Foreigners, have been carried out during 1997 elections to appoint the representatives of the Norwegians, Finnish, German, Swedish, British, Irish, Dutch, French and Chinese of that committee.

In conclusion, they are activities that intend to create a good image among the foreign residents, to make more flexible the administrative relations and the contact between the population and its administration. Not only that but the Departments of Foreigners are considered as a necessary and a right towards the attainment of full citizenship. The perspective of the legitimate application of its political and social rights is the goal of all these initiatives. From the municipal point of view there is another added motivation, to achieve that all foreign residents participate on the Census. That they collaborate economically to the municipal maintenance and finally, that the real dimension of the municipality is obtained to get the economic funds that correspond according to the number of inhabitants.

Nevertheless, it exists for the fulfillment of all these initiatives the necessity to exceed a very important barrier, that of the language. The lack of knowledge of the language is, in fact, a noticeable problem, and added to the difficulties of rearranging the life in Spain, for their possible adaptation (to integration in) the Spanish society, but also for the development of social relations, that is to say, a true barrier. Only a quarter of the interviewed is fluent in Castilian: according to the Survey IEJA only a quarter is fluent (Rodríguez *et al.*, 1998b) and some more speak «very» or «enough» Spanish according to King *et al.* (1998), although other sources lower that value until a tenth part. It seems reasonable to suppose, however, that another important part is capable of reading and to understand, being able to express themselves with greater difficulties, and the remaining, not easy to determine, may do not have a total knowledge of the language. According to Mullan (1993), in many areas where the British live there are an 80% of foreigners that do not speak Spanish.

First of all, behind this problem it exists a physical fact that is, the relative incapacity of the older persons to develop abilities specific such as the adaptation to a system of pronunciation of a language different from theirs. Also a lack of willingness of accommodation to their mother tongue that allows them to communicate with their own compatriots and an absence of need of speaking Spanish. It is a reality that the British barely open to other mass media that are not in English and when they do it is only superficially in the surrounding Spanish society (Beuy and Cabill, 1996).

In many cases it has been also documented the greater skills of the Nordic, Dutch and German to learn a language, as a consequence of their educational system that makes them to know various languages during their schooling. The opposite situation is that of the British, given the general use of English in all the fields. Spanish is seen as a difficult language, not only because any language is so when one is not young, but also because in Andalucía and Valencia there are some dialectal touches different from the rest of Spain.

Therefore, friendships with the Spaniards and the relations with the institutions are limited in many cases by their capacity of expressing in English. Trying to solve these difficulties in the communication is relatively usual to find individual initiatives to be submerged in the Spanish language (Beny, 1997a). Also institutional, as the ones developed by The English Speaking Group of Málaga, dedicated to the exchange of languages among its members. From diverse precincts related with the foreign residents have contributed interpreters, volunteers in many cases, as it happens in the Hospital de la Costa del Sol in Marbella where near 20 persons develop this function in 15 different languages. They are people with great knowledge of Spanish, gifted with a spirit of solidarity and with a great deal of free time. A similar situation is the one offered by the Hospital of Málaga, the health centers of Mijas and Mijas Costa, Los Boliches in Fuengirola, Arroyo de la Miel in Benalmádena.

The lack of knowledge of Spanish limits the logical relation with the mass media of the foreign community and opens the doors to the world of the mother tongues of the main national communities of retired.

There are some good examples of implantation in the Costa del Sol as the weekly South In English (50,000 copies), The Entertainer in the Costa del Sol y Costa Blanca (43,000). The monthly magazines The Reponer (20,000) and Lookout (20,000), all of them in English, or Costa del Sol Nachrichten, in German, or other publications in Swedish, Finnish, etc. In the Costa Blanca there is proof of publications of great copy edition in English (Costa Blanca News). German (Costa Blanca Nachrichten) or Dutch (Bij Ons) (Wasworth, 1992).

There is a notable competence among the non Spanish newspapers what generates copy editions, apparently, higher than the population to which they serve which can be explained for its orientation toward the market of the tourism of masses and towards people residents in their countries of origin, but with interests in the Spanish coast. Its contents are centered in brief news relative and to the territory where they are distributed, the guides of services and activities, of practical advice upon diverse aspects of the way of life, information upon the Spanish culture, especially the regional, entertainments, letters to the director, as an individual vehicle of communication, and advertisements by words.

It is important to stand out the importance given by the newspapers to the supplements on housing, tourist activities, tournaments, etc., in English and in German that issue journalistic reports with greater informative consistency in answer to the offering and demand of the inhabitants in the zone. Also stand out the specific reports specially those related with economic investments, the profit value of the financial products, administrative measures derived from the real estate transactions, requirements in the patrimonial transference because of death. Inevitably the sections of advertisements show once again the new world of commercial relations that can be established between individuals and the businesses that provide them with services. In some cases news papers from the country of origin are bought, although there is a natural tendency to cut off with what happens there when they extend their stay in Spain (OR' Reilly, 1995).

This scenario is complete with the presence, each day more general, of international channels of television, such as SKY, of ABC, BBC, NBC and CNN, besides other channels (movies, cartoons, sports, etc.). The Spanish radio stations emit programs of short term, generally in English, but also in German, Swedish, Danish, etc., that are very popular among the foreign residents.

A last aspect to consider is that of the municipal elections, by the importance that has to overcome political and social barriers and of participation of the foreign residents in the decision-making in the Spanish municipalities. Initially in no moment exists among the foreigners the decision to come to reside in Spain a political motivation, but «an indifference of the political situation in Spain» (Valero, 1992, 212). The participation in the municipal elections is a new fact tied to the changes that Spanish and Community legislation have predicted so that all nationals of European countries can be voters and elected. It is also a measurement of the importance that really has the retired in the municipal policy, of the problems of tune between the Spanish administration and the foreigners and, tied to this, is the problem of the sub register. Diverse opinions insist that the foreigners are conscious not only of the power that they can have as voters, but also of their power as persons subject to the municipal payment of taxes. This, however, does not mean that among them there are dreams of being mayors not even to lead some political sector, but to be considered citizens with all the rights.

From some mass media in English language have developed a campaign of diffusion of the right of the foreigners to vote in the municipal elections of 1999. They describe the positions of the foreigners as persons sociologically conservative and claiming for them some easier administrative procedures to comply with, especially the elimination of the minimum stay in Spain to vote (3 years), as owners of dwellings for more than a decade and even before coming to Spain.

Two facts complicate their political participation. One is the moment of their vital stage, what limits them negatively to articulate such participation in spite of great attempts of channeling it, well through the Conservative and Labour parties in Spain, for the case

of the British, either through the Spanish conservative parties for the British or through Spanish parties such as the Popular Party. The second factor, in relation to the first one, is that their political points of interest are reduced in the municipal precinct, and sometimes even to the residential areas where they live in relation to associated problems to their style of life, such as the deterioration of the infrastructures, collection of garbage, the installment of services, etc.

It remains for solving, in this field, a very important problem for their total participation in the municipal life: the right to vote carries [the obligation of being censused in the municipality in which resides the retired.

The Spanish administration has an evident interest in obtaining the registry of the retired because of it is derived a greater economic contribution to improve the services, an adequate planning of the municipal services (health, drainage, and infrastructures) and the economic reception of funds on the part of the Municipal Fund of Cooperation. Some municipalities, as Fuengirola in the Costa del Sol, have done efforts to «regularize» the situation of the retired residents in the municipality and that are not in the Census.

From the perspective of the foreign resident, the situation is very different. The subregistry of the foreigners retired in Spain has been estimated between 25% and 80% (Mullan, 1993; Help the Aged, 1993). According to the Survey IEJA 28% states not to be registered, being the reasons given the lack of knowledge of the bureaucratic procedures, the belief of not being necessary, the desire of being anonymous or the temporary character of [their stay, with percentages over the 25% (Rodríguez et al., 1998b). Other times they state, for not being registered, aspects as [the difficulties of access to the municipal bureaucracy with regard to [the difficulties with the language, the need to avoid [the municipal taxes (Williams et al., 1997), the lack of knowledge of the system of registration (López de Lera, 1995) or the fear of entering the data in the computers (Bertty and Cahill, 1996).

Not even the municipal elections of 1999 have improved the situation. In spite of the campaign of encouragement to the foreigners to vote, the results do not seem to have been very noticeable among the foreigners registered like voters if they are compared with the data of the Padrón referred to 1996 (Figure 4). The will of being registered in the city hall in the main Spanish provinces among the foreigners is very scarce. Probably the retired residents do not appreciate substantial advantages for their daily life by the fact of being registered, specially when their political orientation is not very high and when it exists it barely surpasses the limits of the residential area in which they live. The proof of this reality must be looked in the limited participation of foreigners in the candidacies presented, and if they do it are the young persons.

TABLE 4

Provinces	Registers Voters (June 1999)		Padrón 1996	
	Spaniards over 18 years	Foreigners over 18	% Foreign population	% Foreign population over 55
		Total	%	
Alicante	1,078,878	15,061	1.4	5.1
Almería	390,662	1,518	0.4	2.3
Baleares	632,418	6,639	1.0	4.2
Girona	448,441	2,398	0.5	3.4
Málaga	977,691	9,265	0.9	4.4
Murcia	894,719	976	0.1	0.8
Palm de Maior, Las	698,885	2,649	0.4	2.5
Tenerife	631,151	4,048	0.6	2.9

Source: INE. Padrón Municipal de Habitantes, 1996

CONCLUSIONS

The migration of foreign retired toward the coast is a phenomenon characteristic of developed societies, that implies an individual and/or family decision-making, scarcely tied to other type of social and economic factors. Its implantation in Europe is relatively recent, as opposed to other areas such as the United States or Australia, where a greater tradition exists.

But, also as opposed to those areas, this behavior represents above all a migratory movement of international character that exceeds the national borders, of political character but also those of cultural, language and social type. It is not an easy phenomenon to delimit, given the limitations that the instruments of measurement have when evaluating the persons that move, especially when these are OOI subjects to many administrative controls. Moreover, in this case, the decision-making is much more complicated, being a challenge for the individuals affected, but also, for the societies. Throughout the paper it has been possible to verify the demographical and geographical meaning of the migration of retired foreigners toward Spain, some of social and economic implications. Not even the usual methodological instruments facilitate its comprehension and measurement, but their multiple impacts are in the receptor society.

From this point of view, essential challenges are presented, today and in immediate future, for example, to give legal cover to this people, the creation of adequate social conditions for their adaptation (is better to say integration?), or to facilitate the mechanisms that the municipalities have to offer measures of social politics for these residents. From a macro point of view these challenges are in the program of action of the political agents and currently their degree of fulfillment in Spain are not low. However, from a micro position, the difficulties that the persons find for the development of their life in an alien society are not scarce, as it is easily appreciable in the speech of the senior foreign residents.

And however these more apposed visions are not presented as something irresolvable, at least in local mass media, of the areas of greater density of retired in Spain. They are persons whose social invisibility is greater than other types of migrants and therefore, their «claims» barely find echo beyond the local environment.

The future seems to be oriented toward the attainment of greater levels of settlement in the Spanish society on the part of the communities of foreign retired. Probably because they live in an economic system that facilitates this type of life, because they are attended for some public localities that, in spite of their limitations tend to facilitate the social attention owed to them. Finally, the Spanish society tends to value more the economic benefits that offer their stay than other cultural and social considerations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BALAO, P. (1994) *Ciudadanos europeos mayores residentes en España. Aproximación a su situación actual*. Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales. *Cáritas*, 3 vols.
- BARKE, M.; FRANCE, L. A. (1996). The Costa del Sol. En: *Tourism in Spain. Critical issues*, edito BARKE, M. • TÜWNER, R. J. • Y NEWTON, M. T. Wallingford: CAB International, p. 265-308.
- BETTY, C. (1997a). Language problems of older British migrants on the Costa del Sol. *Generations Review* 7(2): 10-11.
- BETTY, C. (1997b). From British expatriates to European citizens: the British older migrant communities on the Spanish coastal areas. *European Sociological Association Conference «Europe of the Regions»*, University of Essex, 30 p.
- BETTY, C.; CAHILL, M. (1996). Social and health problems of older British expatriates on the Costa del Sol. *Social Policy Association Conference on «Convergence or Divergence? Social Policy in Europe*, 20 p.
- DACIUK, I.E.; MARSHALL, V. W. (1991). Health concerns as a deterrent to seasonal migration of elderly Canadians. *Social Indicators Research*, 22(2):181-197.
- DELLER, S.C. (1995). Economic impact of retirement migration. *Economic Development Quarterly* 9(1):23-38.
- EATON, M. (1995). British expatriate service provision in Spain: Costa del Sol. *The Services Industries Journal* 15(2):251-266.
- GOBER, P.; ZONN, L.E. (1983). Kin and elderly amenity migration. *The Gerontologist* 23(3):288-294.
- HAZELRIGG, L.E.; HARDY, M. A. (1995). 01-

- der adult migration to the Sunbelt. Assessing income and related characteristics of recent migrants. *Research on Aging* 17(2):209-234.
- HELP THE AGED. (1993). *Growing older in Spain. Older British people resident in Spain. Problems of the present and ways forward for the future*. Londres, Help the Aged. 32 p.
- HOOGE, D. (1991). The economic impact of retirees on smaller communities. *Research on Aging* 13(1):39-54.
- JORDAÑO, F. (1988). Las urbanizaciones turísticas. *Mediterranean Magazine* 6:36-43.
- KALLAN, J.E. (1993). A multilevel analysis of elderly migration. *Social Science Quarterly* 74(2):403-416.
- KIXC, R.; WARNES, A.; WILLIAMS, A. M. (1998). International retirement migration in Europe. *International Journal of Population Geography* 4(2):91-111.
- KOLBE, P.T. (1992). The tenure decision of retirees migrating to the Sun Belt. *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* 10(2):65-15.
- LAW, C. M.; WARNES, A. M. (1980). The characteristics of retired migrants. In: *Geography and the urban environment*, edit. HERBERT, D. T.; JOHNSTON, R. J. Londres, John Wiley and Sons p. 175-222.
- LAW, C. M.; WARNES, A. M. (1982). The destination decision in retirement migration. In: *Geographical perspectives on the elderly*, edit. WARNES, A. M. Londres, John Wiley and Sons, p. 53-81.
- LOPEZ DE LERA, D. (1995). La inmigración en España a fines del siglo XX. Los que vienen a trabajar y los que vienen a descansar. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 11(72):225-245.
- McHUGH, K. E.; HOGAN, T. D.; HAPPEL, S. K. (1995). Multiple residence and cyclical migration: a life course perspective. *Professional Geographer* 47(3):251-261.
- McHUGH, K. E.; MINGS, R. C. (1996). The circle of migration: attachment to place in aging. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86(3):530-550.
- MELLADO, J. (1990). *Guía de urbanizaciones. Costa del Sol 1990*. Málaga, Asociación Provincial de Urbanizadores de Málaga. 99p.
- MONTIEL, C. (1990). Desarrollo turístico, promoción inmobiliaria y degradación medioambiental en el municipio de Benitachell (Comarca de la Marina). *Investigaciones Geográficas* 8:113-129.
- MULLAN, C. (1993). *A report on the problems of the elderly British expatriate community in Spain*. Londres, Help the Aged. 23 p.
- MYUEBOST, H. (1989). Migration of elderly Norwegians. *Norwegian Journal of Geography* 43:191-213.
- O'REILLY, K. (1995). A new trend in European migration: contemporary British migration to Fuengirola. Costa del Sol. *Geographical Viewpoint* 23:25-36.
- RODRIGUEZ, V.; FERNANDEZ-MAYORALAS, G.; ROJO, F.; ABELLAN, A. (1998). *Los inmigrantes europeos jubilados en Andalucía. Rasgos socio-demográficos, motivaciones para migrar y modo de vida*. Madrid, Instituto de Economía y Geografía. 248 p. + anexos.
- RODRIGUEZ, V.; FERNANDEZ-MAYORALAS, G.; ROJO, F. (1998b). European retirees on the Costa del Sol: a cross-national comparison. *International Journal of Population Geography* 4(2):183-200.
- RODRIGUEZ, V. (2000). European elderly residents in Spain. *European dimensions of changing retirement*, European Science Foundation Research Workshop, 13 p.
- SASTRY, M. L. (1992). Estimating the economic impact of elderly migration: an input-output analysis. *Growth and Change* 23(1):34-79.
- STEINNES, D. N.; HOGAN, T. D. (1992). Take the money and sun: elderly migration as a consequence of gains in unaffordable housing markets. *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences* 47(4):S197-203.
- STODEL, E. J. Y BAKER, S. (1989). *Survey of the market for sheltered housing in Mediterranean Spain*. Guildford, University of Surrey, 76 p.
- SULLIVAN, D. A. (1985). The ties that bind. Differences between seasonal and permanent migrants to retirement communities. *Research on Aging* 7(2):235-250.
- VILLERO, J. R. (1992). *La inmigración estacional en Alicante*. Alicante, Diputación de Alicante, 320 p.
- VERA, F. (1990). Turismo y territorio en el litoral mediterráneo español. *Estudios Territoriales* 32:81-110.
- VERA, F. et al. (1990). Evaluación del grado de especialización turística de los municipios litorales valencianos. *Investigaciones Geográficas* 8:83-112.
- WARNES, A. M. (1994). Permanent and seasonal international retirement migration: the prospects for Europe. *Netherlands Geographical Studies* 173:69-81.
- WARNES, A. M.; FORO, R. (1995). Housing aspirations and migration in later life: developments during the 1980s. *Papers in Regional Science* 74(4):361-387.
- WILLIAMS, A. M.; PATTERSON, G. (1978). An empire lost but a province gained: a cohort analysis of British international retirement migration to the Algarve. *International Journal of Population Geography* 4(2):135-155.
- WILLIAMS, A. M. et al. (1997). A place in the sun: international retirement migration from Northern to Southern Europe. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 4(2):115-134.